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### SUMMARY OF NEWS.

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#### Politics of Europe.

The Shipping Report of yesterday was nearly as full as that of the preceding day; there being Six Ships enumerated as Arrivals from Sea, and one anchored below the Light House, her name not then ascertained.

We have received some American Papers, from which we shall offer a few Extracts, though they contain nothing of very particular interest to the English Reader.

By the Ships from Madras, we received the Papers of that Presidency to the 11th instant, some paragraphs from which are given in our last Sheet. The latest English Papers there were of the 16th of May, the same date as our own.

We continue to-day the publication of the Evidence before the Committee on Indian Trade, including that of Mr. Ellice, a Member of the House of Commons, and that of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Reid, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors. We should hardly have thought it necessary to say any thing on the advantage of giving to the world the conflicting opinions of men who think so oppositely as the Advocates for and against an opening of the China Trade to British enterprise and capital, for the sake of comparing them, and eliciting still further information; were it not clear that there are some persons who think no possible advantage can arise from the publication of any opinions except those on one side of a question; and that of course their own. We have seen that in London, the Court of Directors permit their own Booksellers to publish in Leaden-hall Street, close to the India House, such Letters as those of CARNATICUS, from the *Asiatic Journal* of May, well knowing that this and every other question on which difference of opinion prevails, is likely to be elucidated, and the interests of Truth promoted by fair and temperate discussion. Yet there are some, among the Directors' best Friends here, who regard all they do with veneration and respect, that would yet blame us for following in the footsteps of their own Publishers, as if any Editor could be supposed to participate in the sentiments of CARNATICUS or any other writer that chose to give his opinions to the world. As well might we be supposed to concur with every Speaker in a Parliamentary Debate, or to side alternately with two Correspondents of our own, on subjects in which they were diametrically opposed to each other. It is almost too absurd to be combatted.

If CARNATICUS is wrong, his opinions have had full currency in England months ago, and may not meet with refutation there. This very *Asiatic Journal* of the East India Company has also a wide circulation in their Dominions, so that whether we republished this Letter of CARNATICUS or not, it would be read by hundreds in the original Publication. As, however, there may be many in the Interior who might not otherwise have seen it for months to come, the wider it could be spread, and the more made known, the greater the opportunity that would be given to those who were competent to correct any misrepresentations into which this writer has fallen; and we shall be as ready and much more glad to publish any such Replies than the Original itself: for though Error must be exposed to view before it can be corrected, yet the correction is far more gratifying than the exposure.

Those who remember the Discussions in our pages on Brevel Rank, on Military Courts Martial, on Wellington and Marlborough, and twenty other controverted points, know well that

we are willing to hear and assist all parties who confine themselves to temperate and fair discussion, however their notions may differ from our own. In this very Number of to-day, indeed, we publish a Letter of AN OFFICER on the Catholic Question, in the sentiments of which we do not coincide, though we respect and esteem its Author with no common feeling, and have among our warmest Friends, as immoveable Tories as ever adhered to what they deemed a right cause. But we should think it highly illiberal for any of our Whig Supporters to object to such a publication. We know indeed they would not, and that it would be as absurd as to ask us to print only the Speeches of the Whig Members in a Debate on any Constitutional Question.

The portion of the Evidence before the Committee respecting the East India Trade, contained in our Paper of to-day, will be found of a different complexion from that of the preceding witnesses, formerly given. The difference we allude to does not arise from the facts brought out: but from the colouring unavoidably given by the witnesses, according to their various views regarding the advantages and disadvantages of Indian monopoly and free Commercial intercourse. We confess, for our parts, that we cannot see so clearly the distinction between Englishmen and Americans which would render it, as some pretend, so injurious to the interests of the Company to allow the former to engage in a trade already open to the latter. It may be a national prejudice; but we are hard to be convinced that our own countrymen would not act with as much propriety, and observe as much honour in their dealings as the Americans or any other nation; and be therefore as likely to acquire the esteem and confidence of the Chinese or any other Eastern people with whom they might attempt to trade. If a direct Commercial intercourse between China and Europe be injurious to the interests of the Honorable Company, it is no doubt true that the complete opening of the trade to British Shipping of every description would produce a more vigorous competition, and therefore be more injurious to the exclusive trade than the Commercial operations of the Americans alone. This is a natural consequence; but even with the present restrictions, the same effect, although it may be some time retarded, will speedily ensue. For while there is any superior inducement to engage in that trade, whether the English be excluded from it or not, the quantity of Shipping will adapt itself to the demand, and increase in proportion to the profits arising. If English Shipping be excluded, the American Trade will encrease so much the more to supply its place. In this manner, without any ultimate advantage to the East India Company, an extensive and apparently an extending branch of Commerce will be transferred to Foreigners. At this period of unexampled national difficulty, when it is found almost impossible to lay out capital to advantage, we trust our Legislators will not neglect this means of relieving the trading interest without some very imperative reason to forbid it; and that in attending to the interests of the East India Company, they will weigh maturely whether the restrictions imposed on English Shipping do not operate as so many encouragements to our rivals the Americans. But our Readers will, by perusing the Evidence, be enabled to judge for themselves whether or not the reasons stated for continuing the existing restrictions, or for removing them, are most conclusive.

We have Private Letters from Madras to the 15th of September, on the morning of which there arrived at Madras the AJAX, Captain Clark, and the ORIENT, Captain Wallace, both

from London. The *PALLAS* had reached Madras from the Isle of France. The *WILLIAM MILES* was to follow her in a few days. By this occasion we have received files of *MAURITIUS GAZETTES*, but they contain no News. We have met in one of them, however, with an elaborate Article on the Liberty of the Press in France, from a late French Review; and being published without Censorship or Restriction at the Isle of France, under Governor Farquhar, may be read with safety, as well as with interest and profit here. We have therefore translated some of the prominent passages in it for our pages of to-day, to give as much variety as our limited means will admit, to a Paper harrassed on all sides by continual claims on our space and attention, but, we hope, not easily to be dispirited or cast down, as long as upright intentions and a just cause are the motives and end of all its labours.

**Greenland Fisheries.**—Sixty-one vessels were preparing at Hull for the Davis's Straits and Greenland Fisheries the ensuing season.—Hull is much improving in commerce.

**Difference in Maritime Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.**—At Lloyd's the present Premium from London to the Mediterranean is 35s. per cent, whereas the Premium of the Insurance-offices at Malta, from October 1 to March 31, from that Island to Great Britain and Ireland, was fixed at from 3 to 3½ per cent, nearly double for what the insurance can be effected in London. Other Premiums at Malta were as follows:—From Malta to Gibraltar 1½ to 2; ditto to Cadix 1½ to 2½; ditto to Lisbon to 2½ to 3; ditto to Sweden and Denmark 5 to 5½.

**Bank Notes.**—Another delay has arisen in the issue of the new Bank Notes, some fresh improvement being discovered necessary; the 1l. Notes in circulation amount to six millions.

**Printing Office.**—The insurances affected on the printing office and contents, lately destroyed by fire at Liverpool, are thus apportioned; Sun, 5000l; Phoenix, 5000l; Globe, 5000l; Imperial, 8000l; London Union, 3000l; Norwich Union, 10,000l. Total 36,000l.

**Valentine Letters.**—Upwards of 1000 Valentine letters were delivered from the post-office at Southampton last Valentine's Day, and from the superscriptions it was judged that more than 700 were in female hand-writing.

**The Huleyims.**—A new Religious sect has sprung up in the Western parts of America, particularly in Marietta. They style themselves *Huleyims*; and the most novel feature of their creed is, that "Aaron's breast-plate, called by the Jews Urim and Thummin, must be retrieved before the resurrection of the dead!"

**Royal Exchange.**—At 11 o'clock on Saturday, April 28, in the presence of some hundreds of persons, the top stone of the new dome at the Royal Exchange was elevated to its place. In weight it is above half a ton. In the centre of it there is a cavity of upwards of 40 inches deep, to receive the iron to which a globe is to be attached, and the whole surmounted by the grass-hopper the crest of Sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The stone was placed with loud acclamations, and the colours of St. Mary Woolnoth were hoisted at the extremity of the scaffold, on the south side.

**Ships struck by Lightning.**—A scientific gentleman of Plymouth has submitted a plan to the Admiralty for to conduct the electric fluid through the keels of ships, in cases of their having been struck by lightning.

**Poor in Scotland.**—A Report of a Committee of the General Assembly, "On the management of the Poor in Scotland" has, just been laid before the House of Lords; but it is too inaccurate to be trusted in any thing. Its general results are as follows:—The gross population, including 36,299, the population of 20 parishes not returned, and 4,411 of the Local Militia on duty when the Census was made, amounts to 1,805,688; Paupers 44,199; collection at the church doors, £34,009, 10s. 3d. 3-12ths; other funds, £19,705, 10s. 7d. voluntary contributions, £10,789; &c. &c. 6-12ths; assessment, £49,718 10s. 5½d; expense of litigation, £1,977 7s. 5½d. gross funds, £114,195 17s. 9d.

**Patriotic Kosciusko.**—The friends of the patriotic Kosciusko have determined to apply to General La Fayette, in France, Earl Grey, in England, and Mr. Jefferson, in America, to collect subscriptions to complete the projected monument to his memory. It is to be an immense tumulus thrown up in the manner of the Romans, with a vast rock on the top, inscribed "Kosciusko." The tumulus is to be planted, and a colony of veterans fixed upon it, to be called Kosciusko's Colony. Two orphan nieces of the general are also to be provided for. The cost of throwing up the tumulus is estimated as 40,000 florins; but only 17,000 are yet subscribed in Poland towards the whole project.

**Roman Camp.**—Lately, as some men were digging brick earth in a field opposite the Roman camp near Norwich, they discovered, about five feet in depth, the remains of two bodies, which were, no doubt, those of Roman soldiers. Nothing was entire of them except several teeth and a metal brooch of copper, preserved entire, although they must have been interred 1,400 years; the time when the Romans left this country entirely being A. D. 427.

**Strange Medicine.**—A man-servant in the employ of the Rev. Dr. Palmer, of Yarcombe, near Chard, being lately taken ill, the medical attendant of the family was sent for who prepared for the man a bolus from the family medicine chest, and having wrapped up in paper the grain weights used in weighing out the portions of the drugs, left them on the table, and near to them the bolus, which he desired one of the females of the house to carry to the man servant, with instructions to take it immediately in treacle. Some hours afterwards, his master came to enquire about the patient, and found him suffering under very uneasy symptoms, which the man attributed to the strange kind of medicine the doctor had ordered for him; and which he said, "he should never have got through with, had he not cut it into smaller pieces," but, "he thanked God, that though it was rather rough and sharpish, he had got it all down." This account puzzled his master exceedingly, who, however, soon discovered that the man had actually swallowed in treacle a complete set of brass grain weights, instead of the bolus. Proper remedies were immediately adopted for dislodging this uncommon dose from the man's stomach, who subsequently recovered from his illness.—*Taunton Courier*.

**Glorious uncertainty of the Law.**—As a proof of the "glorious uncertainty of the law," the following authentic anecdote may not be uninteresting to our readers:—At the assize in a western county, before the present Lord Chief Justice Abbott, a notorious character was arraigned at the bar for stealing seven geese. The property was found in his possession, and every evidence adduced, so as to leave no doubt, in the mind of every person present, of a conviction. The case for the prosecution being ended, the prisoner for his defence re-called the old woman (prosecutor's servant) who identified the geese to be the property of her master. "You have sworn," said the prisoner, "that those geese were your master's; now will you swear that there were no ganders amongst them. 'Yes,' answered the old woman pertly, "there was one gander and six geese." "Now, my Lord," said the prisoner, addressing himself to the Court, "I stand here charged with stealing seven geese, whereas it appears in evidence that they were six geese and one gander." He therefore took an Exception to the Indictment, which the learned Judge held to be a good one, and the prisoner was accordingly discharged!

**A Dangerous Question.**—A simple Ostler, being one day at confession to his Priest, was asked by the Father if he had never greased the teeth of the guests' horses, to prevent their eating their allowance of hay and oats? "Never," replied the Ostler. In a subsequent confession the Ostler acknowledged the frequent commission of that fraud.—"How" said the Priest, "I remember at your last confession you said you had never done so:—"No more I had then," answered the Ostler; "for till you told me, I never knew that greasing a horse's teeth would prevent his eating."

**Boxing.**—Gregson has opened an academy in the Shakespeare Gallery, in Dublin, for teaching the polite art of boxing, and his school is well attended by the Irish amateurs.



Saturday, September 29, 1821.

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## Woman.

From the Literary Gazette of the 12th of May 1821.

Think, oh! think of all that's past, love:  
Can remembrance tell thee all?  
How sweet our fondness bloom'd, how fast, love,  
Its blossom was to fall.  
Think how close our souls were twining,  
Blessing, hoping, wishing, pining,  
Melting all, and all refining—  
Think of all which thought endears,  
And give at least atoning tears.  
Oh! the fault, the fault, was thine, love,  
Some caprice had changed thy heart;  
Never could a wish of mine, love,  
Hint a tendency to part.  
But thy sex will still be ranging,  
More than breezes given to changing,  
Hearts of truth for aye estranging—  
Woman, worthless Luxury!  
Why was bliss annexed to thee?

## French Review.

Translated for the Calcutta Journal, from the Mauritius Gazette.

—Abridged.—

Although there still exist in Europe different opinions as to what is the best political regime, there is only one opinion upon the Liberty of the Press; it is in favor of that liberty; and upon this point of political doctrine, the subjects of the Neva express themselves with no less force, elegance, and truth, than the citizens of the Seine and the Thames. In France, the Liberty of the Press is consecrated by the Charter. Temporary circumstances led the Ministers of the King to demand the provincial modification of it; they obtained it. The time, when the veil that yet covers this part of the social compact must fall, approaches. Before this day, so much wished for by the nation, all good Frenchmen must encircle the government with their knowledge, that the fruits of their reflections and experience may not be lost. Let the friends of the Country, of the Charter, of Liberty, unite their individual information; let their hearts warm and encourage those of the men who sit in the councils of Kings; and from that happy concert, the law will be born that the people desire.

To have such a Liberty of the Press as is necessary, let us be the friends of principles, but let us not carry them to extremes; let us seek and endeavour to find the point on either side of which that which is just is not to be found. If the whole of society ought to watch for the safety of the lowest of its subjects or citizens, as for that of the first of its magistrates, each citizen should, in his turn, be responsible to the society for all his actions. Without that responsibility, how can the society ground the surety of all its members? All that is not forbidden by the law, is lawful.

But let us see what, in this matter, may and should be lawful. This is the great point; this is where the great difficulty exists. To resolve it, let us refer to incontestable principles, and let us not separate from them any more.—Happiness was the object that men sought, when they united in society. From that search all governments have their rise.—Men believed in the existence of one Supreme Being. From that belief all religions had their existence.—The Divinity, or Nature, in giving to man genius or reason, when he has only given to other animals an instinct peculiar to each species, has by that, expressed his will that man should display all the genius, all the reason, with which he endowed him.—That which is just, that which is true, from natural laws, whether in politics, or religion, cannot be exclusively relative to such a point of the earth as is bounded by a determined number of geometrical feet.—Genius or reason, justice or truth, also, ought to have no bounds but those of the world.

The consequence which flows from these principles is, that upon all matters which we call abstract, man ought to be free, entirely free, to publish all his thoughts. These principles, and the consequences which I draw from them, would not be exposed to any contradictions, if nature had not placed the evil by the side of the good genius. That same nature which created the timid and feeble lamb, produced also the devouring wolf. The same ground which gives the rhubarb and the bark, gives rise to the hemlock and arsenic. Sully and Ravallac lived in the same age.

It is certain, however, that good exists. It is certain that truth is not a chimera; for, in morals, the words good, truth, have an acceptation opposed to the words bad, error, which in their turn positively exist.

Nevertheless the words good, truth, from the acceptation which we give them, applied to certain facts, to certain political or religious opinions, become evil, error, in different circumstances, whether amongst ourselves, or in another part of the globe. How then are we to know which are evil and error? By facts; if the fact which is called good by my fellow creatures, outrages nature, I am right to call it evil.

If then there exists, in the different societies which divide mankind, some errors, which tend to lessen that share of happiness, or to lead men to abridge the determined duration of nature to human existence, it is necessary to combat that evil, to enlighten men, and to teach those who do not know it, that two and two make four.

Sometimes politics are confounded with religion. There is a nation among whom the prince and the priests insist, that a woman who becomes pregnant before she is thirty years should miscarry by violence, and which always destroys the infant, and often the mother. Not far from that state, widows burn themselves upon the funeral piles of their husbands. In others, the old man is pierced with an arrow, and the bowels of his children serve as a tomb for that which they call the matter that has formed them. Then is it not certain, that those who give themselves up to those practices, do ill? They outrage nature; they hasten the moment fixed by her for the destruction of her work. When Galileo discovered that the earth went round the fixed sun, the priests found out that he blasphemed, and they would have burned him as a heretic, if he had not disavowed, on a scaffold prepared in the middle of a public place, the truth of his system. Thus authority gave sanction to an error, sustained by what they called religion. When the civil authority put Socrates to death, because he thought that there was only one God, and that the soul was immortal; when, yielding to the will of soothsayers, it killed the first Christians; when, seconding the will of the Spanish priests, it massacred the Incas; when, to people heaven with them, they baptised them at the same moment that they tightened the knot which strangled them; when they confirmed the laws which banished from their country tens of thousands of their citizens, or massacred them, only because they would pray to God in their vernacular tongue, then they did wrong.

When a government shall be established of which the chiefs or the agents shall have a right to make an attempt upon the liberty of a man to kill him, only because they choose it, that government will be contrary to the end of society, and to nature; then it would be very bad.—From these truths, at present trivial every where, where common sense is not banished, there must result this strong consequence, that if it be acknowledged that evil is the effect of ignorance and of error, the Press, the messenger of instruction, ought to be entirely free upon all abstract matters.—But the enemies of the Liberty of the Press will say to me in their turn, "In a constituted state, to leave an entire liberty of writing upon abstract matters, is to expose that state to agitations and insurrections. Nothing is more abstract than political and religious matters; nothing is more dangerous for the public tranquillity, than touching on these matters."

But are not common sense and reason in favor of that same public tranquillity, especially when it is the result of laws which govern that constituted state? And if politicians, like those who come from the womb of mothers who become pregnant before the age of thirty, should come to publish in Europe, that in order to have men strongly constituted, it was necessary that they should only be produced by mothers who had finished their fifteenth lustre, they would execute works with the style of that man who maintained that letters are hurtful to society. Europe would repel the system with horror: it would contain nothing dangerous for her. She would produce swarms of writers, who would contend in favour of outraged nature and of truth. It is printing which has been the courier of universal tolerance; it is to printing that Europe owes its representative governments; that a part of Africa owes the cessation of slavery: if, enslaved, it has by chance served lies and tyranny; free, it has served much more justice and truth.

I lay down as a principle, that the representative government is the highest degree to which civilization can be raised; I earnestly pray that it may be established in all the societies into which the world is divided. If they deny my proposition, if the prayer which I put forth is represented as a call to return to the doctrines of anarchy, I ought to have the same liberty of establishing their truth. To act in a contrary sense, is to extol the brigands of Algiers, to consecrate the altars erected to Jacques Clement, and to avow the operation of the unfortunate Hérault de Séchelles: the strength of the people or reason is the same thing. If they will burn me because I have before contradicted Joshua; if I am anathemized because I will not believe there are antipodes; if they will kill me, because I will address my prayers to my God in my native tongue, rather than in a dialect which I do not understand; if they will banish me because I am the enemy of perjury, that I can not admit that it can be lessened by mental reservations, ought I not to have all possible liberty to prove that they are wrong to wish to kill or persecute me, only because I believe I am right?

Public tranquillity is composed of the tranquillity of individuals; and although there may be no riots, no standards displayed, it does not exist absolutely, at a time when there are oppressors and oppressed in a state. Upon abstract matters it is easy to be mistaken, and to be nevertheless honest. Fenelon was opposed by Bossuet; the school of Loyola, by the more wise and the more moral one of Port Royal; Rousseau by Voltaire; Montesquieu, who knew well the unknown Bodin, by Mably. Let absolute power have its apologists, provided that the contrary power is allowed the same privilege.—Let it be free for the children of Ignatius to establish by a hundred folios, that five propositions are in Jansenius, provided that the disciples of Berrale and Cesar-de-Bus, be allowed to prove that these five propositions were never there, or that they contain nothing contrary to the faith.

Writers belong to the world: Fenelon, Montesquieu, Racine, Massillon, Newton, Voltaire, Leibnitz, Kant, Locke, Rousseau, &c. have been translated into all languages, and have thus become citizens of the world. If genius can and ought to labor for all men, how can it with reason be chained to the bosom of that society, which by chance gave it birth? The general curse has equally struck the inquisitorial tribunals of Spain and of Venice. We have heard some people maintain that the minority ought to make the law, and that our Revolution furnished examples, that it could govern very well. The meaning of this is, that *terror* is an excellent means of Government: perhaps they are right; but they are wrong in my opinion: can I be deprived of the right of combatting them?

To guide men, they want hell and the executioner. I want Henry the 4th and Heaven. If the system of Helvetius is true, it is certain that self-love is the prime cause of all the actions of men: a system against which my soul rebels, and which I can dispute well. Let them preach the dread of chastisement; I shall announce the recompense destined to virtue. Their disciples will be trembling slaves; mine, free men, alive to love. Theirs will not do evil: mine will do good. The colonies of Paraguay, it is said, were happy; the Turks are not miserable. Be it so; these colonies have disappeared: the Turks, the shame of Europe, owe their existence on this side the Bosphorus, and their odious triumph on the coasts of Africa, only to false views in politics. But the people of Great Britain, of constitutional France, of Switzerland, of Holland, of Belgium, of the United States of America, have resisted the attacks of their enemies, and are free and full of life.

Shall I be asked, will you leave writers unpunished who shall endeavor to overthrow the Government?—Will you leave writers unpunished, who shall publish works contrary to received religions and to good morals? I would wish to be consistent to my principles, and answer negatively; but it is impossible to reconcile contraries. Nevertheless, if ever a *licence* be necessary, it is in these three cases. I acknowledge this truth. Nothing is easier than to make a penal law, against the author of a provocation to overthrow the government. But should that provocation be direct or indirect? If it should be direct, the malevolent will not make it; to escape the punishment they will use oblique ways; and thus the law will be violated with impunity. If they adroit punishment for the indirect provocation, in what an inextricable labyrinth will they not plunge us? what writer will be able to exert himself upon the public rights, without being exposed to be accused as having attempted the overthrow of the government? How shall we put bounds to that which is indirect? how define that which is indirect? There is as great a distance from *direct* to *indirect* as there is from visible to invisible, between finite and infinite.

The same observations apply to good morals and religion, two objects which certain individuals confound on purpose, and which cannot well have any thing in common. If the law is illusory, it is useless to make it. If it, on the second account, cannot be executed, it would be absurd to publish it. Nevertheless, if it is thought, that although illusory, it will still serve to prevent the audacity of some demoniacs, or of some worthless writers, let them pass a penal law against every author who shall provoke the overthrow of government, or shall publish a writing which shall make any attempt either upon good manners or the religion which it pleases any man to profess. This last part will certainly require an explanation. For example, in England all the sects of the Christian religion are tolerated, the Catholic religion alone is not. Ought an author to be punished who shall demand toleration for the Catholic? Far be from me, even the appearance of consenting that such would be the inference to be drawn from what I say.

For the same reason, in France, an author ought not to be punished who should demand a toleration for every other religion besides the Catholic. Is it not a principle, that we should not do to others, what we would not have them to do to ourselves? How, with that divine moral, would you then be exclusive? Thus, the more I reflect upon that article, the more I am convinced that the Press ought to be sheltered from all troubles about that which is relative to the private opinions of writers on every kind of abstract subjects; and that the punishable abuses should be reduced to *false and unfounded calumny*.

The facts that a writer may report, are independent of his private opinion; I would wish that he should have the unlimited faculty of censuring or approving such acts as emanate from individuals or from the government, as appear to him contrary or hurtful to that which he believes to be the public good; but he cannot have the right of *falsely imputing* to them facts which, if true, would expose them to hatred or contempt.

The ministers of the king and the public functionaries have two characters; the first attaches to the place, the second to the individual. Every act emanating from authority is liable to censure as well as to praise.

He who accepts a place which raises him above his fellows, has consented to expose himself to their attention, to make them the judges of his actions; and he must submit to their criticism as well as to their praise. If it is wished to restrain the liberty of publishing an opinion upon the deeds of authority, it is necessary to break the Press, and to revive the senate of Venice.

Calumny may yet be a crime, although directed against a private citizen; it is when it falsely imputes deeds to him, which, if true, would expose him to the punishment of death or hard labor. What ought to be the punishment of this crime? It should be more or less strong according to its weight; and in certain cases I could not hesitate to wish that the calumniator should be burned in the hand by the executioner like a forger. And let it not be said that the dread of punishment will paralyse the pen of men of letters. The friends of truth will have nothing to fear; an unlimited latitude will be given to their genius. But let those cool assassins of the honor of their fellow-citizens reflect and draw back: their silence can only be useful to society.

There is nothing more ridiculous in a law, than an article which permits you to accuse, and then in the following article reduces you to the impossibility of proving the truth of the accusation.

I may be wrong upon the true point of the difficulty, for I know well enough the manners of my country, to own, that they are in opposition with my private ideas upon that legislative question: but it is true Jansenist policy to be tenacious, and I say, if each citizen is admissible to every kind of public function, then each citizen ought to be accountable to society for all his actions. It is interested in knowing all its members, in order that it may not be the dupe and the victim of ambition, cupidity, ignorance, pride, cowardice, hypocrisy, and all the vices in short which multiply among men, that they know how to disguise to a certain extent, but which their actions betray. Let the honest man called, wherever he may be, to public functions, fear not the acuteness of his fellow-citizens: it is dreadful only to the wicked, to hypocrites, and to the faithless. The upright magistrate, the virtuous citizen, would wish that his house were transparent, in order that the prince and the people may without ceasing, be the witness of his conduct and of all his actions. Crime and hypocrisy would wish that the sun never should rise. The publicity given to bad actions must be useful to society.

Let it not be feared that the writer will abuse this liberty. It is necessary that he should be decidedly the friend of the public good to erect himself into an accuser, when it will depend upon the person who thinks himself calumniated, to convert him, in an instant, into the accused. Shall I be asked, if in my system, I mean that it may be permitted to a writer to speak either good or evil of the supreme head of the state, and of the princes of the family? If it is true that the actions of these high persons have much more influence upon the social body, than that of magistrates and private persons, it is reasonable that they should make them known. If they love to hear their good and noble actions praised, it is necessary that the fear of hearing their bad ones published, should prevent them from committing them. If writers had been able to publish and censure deeds which announced, in the young prince, afterwards Charles IXth, a sanguinary character, perhaps France would not have to blush for the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

The Liberty of the Press, being sanctioned by the Charter, the French nation ought to enjoy it fully; it is veiled from France in that part of its dispositions; this veil ought to be entirely raised. The ministers need not fear that the nation should enjoy it, if, by the side of the Charter, there existed a law which punished calumniators; for it is too clear not to acknowledge, that the abuse can only be punishable for calumny.

No falsehood can be of long duration. Every government ought to offer truth its preservation. Justice preserves empires. The Liberty of the Press is a faithful echo which carries to the ears of king and ministers, all the sounds that strike it. To hinder this sound from coming to the ears of the prince, is to paralyse the most august of his attributes, that of being upon the earth the image of the divinity; for the divinity or knowledge, is the same thing: the divinity or truth is still the same thing: the divinity and justice is the same thing again. God is an eternal spirit; but his images upon earth have eyes, ears, a heart: it is necessary then that these animated images should see, hear, feel.



Minutes of Evidence.

*Taken before a Select Committee of the House of Lords - the Marquis of Lansdowne in the Chair.*

EVIDENCE OF EDWARD ELLICE, ESQUIRE, A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Are you acquainted with the State and Progress of the Trade between the Western Coast of North America and China?

I believe until within the last two years, since the Revolution in South America, no British Trade was carried on between the Western Coast of North America and the East Indies, except from the Columbia River to China. This Trade was established by the North-west Company of Canada, in the year preceding the American War, who then sent Vessels round Cape Horn, under Licences granted to them by the East India Company, to convey the Furs collected by them on the North-west Coast to China for Sale. These Licences restricted the North-west Company to selling their Furs in China for Money, and to pay that Money into the Company's Chest for Bills on England; and the loss arising from such a mode of conducting the Trade was so excessive, that they were soon obliged to abandon it. The Trade now is carried on by the Export of the British Manufactures necessary to procure the Furs (which were sent in the first instance direct in the Ship from England) to a Port in the United States, where they are trans-shipped in an American Vessel for the Columbia River, the same Vessel taking on their Furs to China; and an Arrangement is made with the American Merchant, by which much more beneficial returns are obtained by the North-west Company for their Trade than by the former mode. The Saving between the present mode of conducting the Trade and the former by Licence from the East India Company, in consequence of the Restrictions imposed by those Licences, may be calculated at, at least, Fifty per Cent. of the Charges incident to it.

Supposing the restriction upon the Trade from the necessity of taking Licences from the East India Company to be removed, would it not then be more profitable to export the Furs produced upon the North-west Coast of America in British-built Vessels, than to have recourse to the method which you have described of sending those Furs to China?

Most assuredly; and more especially if the Merchant was permitted to remit the returns arising from the Sale of his Furs, in Articles the produce of China, for Sale in any Market in Europe or America. The Difference between bartering Furs in the China market for Chinese Produce, and selling them for Money, is generally calculated at about Twenty-five per Cent. but this varies according to the scarcity or plenty of Money at the time in Canton.

So that the result of the Restrictions now imposed upon the Trade may be considered to operate as a Tax of Twenty-five per Cent. upon the Capital engaged in carrying it on?

To a greater extent, because a profit is generally extracted from the Sale of Chinese Produce in the Markets of Europe and America, which must be added to the difference of Twenty-five per Cent. loss in China.

Are you of opinion, then, that there is no chance of the Trade which you have described in British Vessels reviving, as long as the present Restrictions shall continue to subsist?

It is impossible it can.

Are you aware that, since the last Renewal of the Charter, there has been an increasing Demand in China for Furs, the Produce of North America?

There has always been a great Demand for Furs; and before the Renewal of the Charter, Furs were sent from Canada to New York, and there shipped in American Ships to China, the returns of which were brought back and sold in the United States; and Furs have been often shipped from this Market to China, and been sent through Russia to China, having been brought here from North America: there was also a considerable Trade in this Article carried on by Russian and American Ships, between the North-west Coast of America and different Islands in the Pacific and China, previous to the Establishment of the North-west Company.

Were the Voyages to which you have alluded undertaken by British Vessels from Columbia to the Port of Canton, under Licences from the East India Company, or the Authority of any Act of Parliament?

They were under Licences from the East India Company, upon Representations made to them, and to the Government, that unless some Mode of disposing of the Furs collected in the Trade of North America was permitted, the Establishments formed on the Western Coast must be abandoned: the Licences were more particularly required during the American War, when American Conveyances could not be obtained.

Has any Trade been carried on between the North-West Coast of America and Japan, or the other Islands or Kingdoms of that Sea,

under the Act of the 33d Geo. 3, which permits British Vessels from North America to dispose of their Cargoes in those Countries?

The same Vessels which were licenced for this Trade, between the North-west Coast of America and China, occasionally traded with the Islands, and with the Spanish Ports to the South of the Establishments on the Columbia, where they procured Provisions and other Articles necessary for their Settlement and their Trade.

Have you Reason to think that there exists a Demand in those Islands for Furs, or other Articles the Produce of North America, which would give additional Facility and Encouragement to trade with that Quarter, if freed from the Restrictions which you have stated to impede it at present?

I have no Doubt that a very considerable Trade might be carried on between the Coasts and the Islands, and more particularly to obtain Means of purchasing, in China, Chinese Produce, which might be resold to great Advantage in those Islands, and on the American Continent: this Trade has been carried on for many Years by the Americans and Russians, and is almost entirely a Barter Trade: probably Eight or Ten Vessels, although I cannot exactly state the number, have been employed annually in bartering between the Islands and the Coast, and Fishing, and killing Seals for the Chinese Market.

Do the Americans possess any Advantage, in your Opinion, for that Trade, which would not equally attach to British Shipping, if allowed to engage fully in it?

Certainly not.

Is the Supply of Furs, from the Part of North America to which you have alluded, likely to continue, for any considerable Period, to such an Extent as to supply the present or any increased Demand?

The Supply of Furs, till within the last Five Years, was principally procured on the Coast and the Islands; but since the Establishment of the North-west Company's Posts extended from Canada to the Pacific, a very large Interior Trade has taken place; and, as far as our present Experience goes, we are led to believe that that may be very much extended, if beneficial Markets can be found for the Sale of the Furs. At the same Time, the Expence of the Establishment has been considerably increased, from the hostile Disposition of the Indian Population, the Tribes being generally engaged in Warfare with each other, and extremely jealous of the Communications of the Traders with the Interior; and it has been found necessary to be prepared against Attacks from them with a large Force of Men, who are brought over Land from Canada at great Expence: unless such Markets can be found, it is most probable, at no distant Day, under such Difficulties, the Trade must be abandoned.

Are there no Means by which the Indian Population to which you have alluded, could be made to feel sensible of the Advantages attendant upon Commerce, as to afford some Hope of greater Civilization in their Habits, by Means of the Trade carried on by the North-west Company?

It is not impossible that, in the Course of Time, such Results may be accomplished, but our present Experience leads us very much to apprehend greater Difficulties in this respect with the Population to the West of the Rocky Mountains, than we have found with that to the Eastward, where if unfortunately the Contests of rival Traders had not interfered with the Measures taken for this Object, there would have been little Difficulty in establishing Peace between the different Tribes, and keeping the Country in a State of perfect Tranquillity.

What Description of Vessels, as to Burthen, are best fitted to carry on the Trade which you have described, between the North-west Coast of America and the Chinese Seas?

Small Vessels of 200 Tons or under, which can be navigated at easy Expence, as far as the Trade between the Coast of China and the Islands is concerned; but if the Produce of China taken in barter or purchased by the Proceeds arising from the Sale of Furs, was permitted to be exported from China to Europe, larger Vessels, from Three to Five hundred Tons, could be employed; but the Trade in such Vessels could never be extensive.

Can you state whether any Trade has taken place, within the Course of the last few Years, between the West Shore of South America and the Indian Seas?

A good deal of Trade has taken place within the last Two Years, and several Ships have gone from Chili, and I believe from some of the Ports in Peru, with Copper Specie, and other Produce of that Country, to Calcutta and other Ports in India; which Vessels have returned again with Cargoes of East Indian Produce to supply the same Markets in South America; these Vessels have touched at different Islands on their Passage to Calcutta, for the Purposes of Barter and Trade.

Has this Trade been carried on under Licence from the East India Company?

The Trade has been greatly impeded by the Regulations under which the East India Company license Vessels, and more especially by that by which Vessels under a certain Size are prohibited from carrying on Trade with India. I have known one Instance, and I believe there

are others, in which these Restrictions have been evaded, by sending, Vessels under the Size permitted by Act of Parliament to Gibraltar, for Licences, under Pretence that the Vessels were to return to the Mediterranean with the Produce of India. One Vessel to which I have referred, has already made One Voyage from Valparaiso in Chili to Calcutta, and has returned to Valparaiso with a Cargo purchased with Copper Specie, which she took from Chili; and it would be very material that Vessels of any Burthen should be permitted to carry on this Trade, as much depends upon the Success to be expected from it, upon the Diminution of the Expence attendant upon the Voyages; and that no Restrictions should be placed upon the Trade backwards and forwards among the Islands in the Seas through which those Vessels pass.

Has the Trade which you have been describing, been carried on in British Vessels exclusively?

I am not aware that it is not exclusively, but certainly principally; and hitherto the British Merchants have maintained so great an Ascendancy in the South American Ports in the Pacific, that with equal Advantages to Trade might almost be entirely secured to them.

Is there not however some Danger that if the Restrictions to which you have adverted with respect to Licences, and to the Size of the Vessels employed, are continued, the same circumstances which have enabled the Americans to possess themselves of other Branches of the carrying Trade to India and China, may enable them to enter into a successful Competition with British Vessels in the Trade you have been now describing?

Most assuredly; those who can carry on the Trade at least Expence, and with the fewest Restrictions, will succeed in obtaining a Preponderance. I might add to this, that it would be very essential, and could produce no Injury either to the East India Company, who do not carry on this Trade, or to the Revenue of this Country, which is the great Argument for confining the China Trade; that as a great Market may be found in South America for the Produce of China, it would be very desirable that unlimited Freedom of Trade, as between China and the Dependencies of China and South America might be permitted to British Merchants, and more particularly as Specie and Copper, which are the great Means by which the Chinese Trade is carried on, are procured in great Abundance in South America for British Manufactures.

EVIDENCE OF GEORGE ABERCROMBIE ROBINSON, ESQ. CHAIRMAN, AND THOMAS REID, ESQ. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Will you state to the Committee whether the Restrictions, now imposed upon the free Trade with the Continent of India since the last Renewal of the East India Company's Charter, are essential in their full Extent to the Interests of the East India Company, both as respects the Licences required to carry it on, and the Limitation of Tonnage for the Shipping engaged in it?

(Mr. Robinson.) I am not aware of any Restrictions upon a perfectly free Trade with India, except in the Two Points your Lordship has mentioned: the first is a Restriction that is a Point rather of Form, inasmuch as I know no Instance of a Licence having been applied for that ever was refused: with regard to the Restriction as to the Tonnage of the Ships to be employed in that Trade, it was a Measure decided upon when the last Charter was renewed, with reference, I believe, to laying Impediments in the Way of Smuggling, by not permitting Ships of a smaller Burthen than 350 Tons to trade between England and India; it is therefore a Question in which the Revenue, I conceive, are more immediately concerned than the East India Company.

You are not of Opinion, then, if any Difficulty arising from Considerations of Revenue could be got over, to the Employment of Vessels of a smaller Burthen in the free Trade with India, that any Obstacle would arise to this being permitted, connected with the interests of the East India Company.

I hold the Opinion myself, that is essential to the Revenue. It is a Question that I have no Means of answering, if I am to speak the Sense of the Court of Directors; because not being aware that such a Question would be put to me, I have had no Means of collecting their Sentiments; giving my own Opinion, I believe that it was purely adopted on the Principle of protecting the Revenue.

Would any Inconvenience arise from the Free Trade being permitted along the Coast, without being confined, as it now is by Law, to the Three Presidencies?

I think the Objection to that Enlargement would arise chiefly from the Injury it would do to the Property and Shipping usually called the Country Trade. That at a Time when the Trade between India and England is strictly confined to the Transit between the Two Countries, it would be extremely hard upon the Owners of Ships in India, that Ships from this Country should be permitted to enter into Competition with them in the Coasting Trade of India, while the India Shipping is prevented from entering into the general Trade of the Empire. The

Capital and Property engaged in the Country Trade amounts to a very large Sum, and is clearly entitled, I think, to Protection.

Do you mean to state, that the Country Ships are navigated and employed at such an Expence as to make them unable to enter into a fair Competition with the British Ships, if permitted to engage in the same Trade in India?

I think that the Expence of navigating an Indian Ship, is less than would be the Expence of navigating a British Ship in India, the one being manned by Natives chiefly, the other by Europeans; but the Value and Price of Ships built in India is so much greater, that it necessarily requires the Employment of a great Capital; and the Introduction of a Number of British Ships into the Trade from Port to Port in India, must necessarily interfere with the Benefits and Advantages of those whose Capital is already so embarked.

Can you account for the apparent Decrease of that Trade?

I think I can account for the Decrease on One of the Years satisfactorily; there has been a Deficiency in that Year of the Cotton Crops of the last Year, and there was also the same Year an indifferent Year of Produce, in India, of Opium.

Can you state whether any Portion of the Country Trade between the Continent of India and the Islands, consists of British Manufactures re-exported from the Continent of India, or whether it consists exclusively of the Produce of the Continent?

I am disposed to think, from the great Influx and Abundance of the Manufactures of Britain that have reached India since the opening of the free Trade, that Adventures have been sent, of the Superabundance of the Importations in India, and of Cotton Goods especially, to the Eastern Islands.

It appears from Accounts delivered into the Committee, that the Quantity of British Manufactures, and particularly of Woollen Goods exported by the East India Company to the Continent of India, since the Period of the last Renewal of the Company's Charter has considerably diminished; will you explain the Cause of that Diminution?

The most probable Cause is, the great Quantity which has been carried out by private Traders.

You conceive, then, that private Traders have a great Advantage over the Company in the Export of British Manufactures?

I do not conceive that that Consequence follows at all, inasmuch as I believe a great many of the private Traders have been ruined by their over Speculations.

Has the East India Company been in the Habit of exporting large Quantities of Cotton Manufactures to the Continent of India?

Not large Quantities: they have occasionally made Experiments.

What has been the Result of those Experiments?

In some Instances, I believe, they have been attended with Profit, but not in all.

Have not large Quantities of Cotton Manufactures been introduced into India during the last Six Years, by means of private Traders?

I believe a large Quantity.

Have you any Reason to think that the Market in India has been considerably overstocked with Cotton Manufactures, by the Means referred to?

I have no Means of answering that Question from any Knowledge I possess.

Has any Inconvenience resulted to the Company, or to its Establishments upon the Indian Continent, in consequence of the Admission of a free Trade to the Extent to which it has been admitted, since the last Renewal of the East India Company's Charter?

If the Question is put commercially, I conceive none; if politically, I hold to the Opinion I have always entertained, that it is highly inexpedient that Encouragement should be given to the Access of Europeans to India, which I think has been in part the Result of opening the Trade, and which no Means of Precaution intended by the Charter to prevent the Effects of, has hitherto been able to accomplish; by the Access I mean the Increase of European Residents.

Has the Residence of Europeans considerably increased in India during the Period referred to?

Very much.

Are the Vessels of the United States permitted to enter into the Coasting Trade of the Dominions of the East India Company, or to what Restrictions are they subject in doing so?

I am not aware of any Restrictions imposed on the Americans in carrying on their Coasting Trade.

If no Restrictions are imposed on the Americans, with respect to the Coasting Trade, what would the Ship Owners in the Country Trade have to dread from the Competition of British Shipping, which they have not equally to dread from the Competition of American Shipping, engaged as that Shipping is in the Carrying Trade throughout the East?

I am not aware, that the Americans have much entered into the Coasting Trade in India; I believe that the Plan of their Voyages has,



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been generally to dispose of their outward Cargoes, and to return to their own Country or to Foreign Europe with their Return Cargoes. I am not aware of any American Ships having been laid up in India for Want of Employment, though that has been very much the Case with Ships belonging to free Traders.

It is to that last Circumstance, then, that you advert, when you express an Apprehension that British free Traders might, if permitted to engage in the Coasting Trade, draw a large Portion of it out of the Hands of the Country Traders, when the Americans would not?

I think mainly to that Cause.

To what Cause do you attribute the Circumstance of so many British free Traders being laid up in India for Want of Employment, as you have stated?

To the Failure of their Speculation outwards; to their having over-specified on their Trade to India, and wanting thereby the Means of returning with India Produce. I think it has been further increased by the great Depreciation of Indian Produce in Britain; there remains at this Time, in the Company's Warehouses alone, exclusive of what there may be at the Outports, such a Quantity of Indian Goods as, I conceive, would not be taken off the Market in Two or Three Years, if no other Importation were to arrive. I have the Means of laying before the Committee the Extent and Value of the Goods that are now in the Company's Warehouses, not only belonging to the Company, but also to Individuals: it is independent not only of what may be lying at the Outports, but also of what may be in private Warehouses.

Have you any Objection to furnish the Committee with that Paper? None in the World: the Amount of the Article in Cotton Wool alone exceeds Two millions two hundred thousand Pounds, calculated at a Price less than that which it must have originally cost in India, exclusive of the Freight and Charges.

Is there any Reason why the British free Trade with India, although necessarily, in the first Instance after its being opened, the Subject of Experiment and Uncertainty, should not, after a short Time, find its own Level, with reference to the Wants and Means of Supply in both Countries, as much as any other Branch of Trade that is now carried on, and as much as that which is carried on by the Americans with the same Country?

There is no Doubt that British Prudence and British Experience will bring a Trade of that Kind, at least, to its Level: the Evidence that I am giving before the Committee, I consider as referring to the immediate Effects that resulted from opening the free Trade.

When that Level has once been found, will there be greater Room for Apprehension, from the Admission of the British free Shipping into the Coasting Trade, than there appears now to be from the Admission of the Americans into that Trade, upon which there is no existing Restriction?

Doubtless there will be no other Effect produced, in that Case, than the Interference, to the Extent to which it might then chance to go, of the free Traders in the Port to Port Trade; and which before the opening of the Charter the Indian Ship Owners enjoyed exclusively.

Is there not now a greater Demand for British Manufactures in the Indian Market than has existed at any former Period?

Certainly, the additional European Population must contribute to that in a great Degree; and I have no Doubt that by Degrees also British Manufactures do increase in Use among the Natives.

Are there any Opinions or Prejudices entertained by the Natives which can create an Obstacle to a further Demand for British Manufactures beyond the Limitation of their Means for procuring them?

There are Prejudices existing among the Natives, no Doubt, to the Use of some Articles of British Manufacture, that never will be overcome; but exclusive of those Prejudices which religious Feeling and religious Opinions inculcate, I see no Reason why they should not adopt whatever they may find useful and convenient.

Do any of those Prejudices apply to the principal Articles of British Manufacture; namely, Woollen Goods, Cotton Goods, and Hardware?

None.

(To Mr. Reid.) Do you concur in the Answers which have been made?

I concur generally in every thing which has been mentioned in Reply to the Questions which have been put.

Is there any thing you would wish to add on any Point?

I am not aware of any thing.

(To Mr. Robinson.) Will you state generally your Opinion as to any Inconvenience which could arise from permitting the Vessels engaged in the British free Trade from bringing to the other Countries of the Continent of Europe, and to America, the Produce of China, which are now brought by the Ships of the United States, and are not permitted to be brought in any other Vessels of British build, except those that are navigated by the East India Company?

The First Question that would be to be decided in that Case, would be where and how the Produce of China was to be obtained by Vessels of that Description: if such an Idea is ever entertained as that of the

Ships going to Canton, I conceive that the Interests of the East India Company would be most essentially injured thereby; that it would completely change the whole Character of that Trade, and that the Change could not take place without producing very injurious Effects to the Company.

Will you state the Grounds of that Opinion?

The Grounds of that Opinion are, that the Whole of the Foreign Trade in China is conducted by a Company of Merchants called the Hong who have the exclusive Monopoly of that Trade on the Part of the Chinese; the only Interchange that is maintained between that Government and the East India Company is through the respective Mediums of the Hong and the Servants of the East India Company composing the Factory. The Introduction of Ships belonging to Individuals would require one or other of Two Things: either that the free Trader should be submitted to the Control of the Factory, or that a new Authority should be constituted in China, to be the Medium of Communication on the Part of the free Trader; but the first Expedient I conceive would be very much complained of, and would lead to a Thousand Complaints and Grievances hardly any how to be redressed; the other Expedient would be as, I said before, to produce a complete and thorough Change in the Relations that now exist between the British and the Chinese.

How do you account for the increasing and the prosperous Trade carried on by the Subjects of the United States with the Port of Canton, and in the same Articles as that carried on by the East India Company, without those Restrictions, and that particular Mode of directing it, which you have described as essential to the Success of such a Trade?

I account for it clearly in this Way, that the Americans are a distinct Nation from us, and no Act of theirs commits us in any respect in Responsibility; but it would be utterly impossible to draw a Distinction between the Act of Englishmen, so as not to make the Chinese Government hold the only British Authority that exists at present in China responsible for the Acts of their own Countrymen.

Do you conceive that without the Existence of a British Factory in Canton, the Americans would not be able to carry on an advantageous Trade with that Port?

I see no Connection that the British Factory has with the American China Trade, though it would have with the free Trader of British Merchants.

How then do you explain that no Inconvenience appears to arise to the Subjects of the United States, from a Want of that responsible Authority representing them, to which you think it necessary that the Chinese Government should be enabled, in all Cases of Difference or Dispute, to appeal?

I am afraid I have been misunderstood in my Answer, which was intended to exhibit the Inconvenience and Injury that the East India Company would sustain from the Introduction of a Trade, which might involve them in Disputes with the Chinese and over which they could not well exercise a Control.

Can you state through what Authority, or by what Channel, the Subjects of the United States communicate with the Chinese Government, as to any Questions or Disputes which may arise in the Course of their Trade with China?

I should certainly rather refer that to those whose local Habits would enable them best to answer it; but I have understood that the Americans have a Resident Consul at Canton.

Are you aware of any Objection that would exist to the Appointment of a Resident Consul, or any other Authority similar to that, by Means of which the Americans adjust their Differences and Communications with the Chinese Government, for the Purpose of fulfilling the same Office for the British free Trade, supposing it to exist concurrently with the exclusive Trade of the East India Company with Great Britain?

I think it would be absolutely impracticable to raise up at the same Place Two distinct Authorities; that is to say, a Consulate for the Transaction of the Concerns of the free Traders and the Factory, as now established for the Conduct of that Trade, which it would be intended should still remain exclusively to the East India Company. I think not only would the Two Authorities clash, but I think that even a better constituted Government than that of the Chinese would be very much at a Loss to draw a Distinction between Two co-existing Authorities of that Kind.

(To Mr. Reid.) Is there any thing which you are desirous of adding upon the Subject of the foregoing Questions?

It strikes me, that the Anxieties that are entertained to carry on this Tea Trade, are not likely to meet with the Success that Parties expect at this Time; because now Foreign Countries to which the Tea goes, are supplied by their own Shipping: in the Time of War, the Americans, in consequence of their neutral Character, carried Tea to those Countries; at the present Moment the Interests of those respective Countries will lead the Governments of them to import the Tea themselves.

The Witnesses are directed to withdraw.

Ordered, That this Committee be adjourned to Thursday next, Twelve o'Clock.

**Sale of Negroes by Auction.**

*Extract of a letter from Richmond, in Virginia, dated February 12, 1821.  
Written by an Englishman who emigrated from Norfolk:—*

The sale of negroes at auction is of frequent occurrence in this city. I was present at one the other day; more than a hundred were disposed of that morning; they formed part of the "estate" of John Graham, a wealthy Scotchman, deceased. A sort of temporary platform was erected in the street for the accommodation of the auctioneer and the negro for sale. Many were sold before I arrived on the spot. The purchasers consisted of citizens buying for their own use, and two or three negro speculators from the Western and Southern States, to whom the poor creatures are generally averse to being sold. The following is a literal narrative of what passed during my stay.

Auctioneer: "Gentlemen, the next we offer you for sale is Billy; a good rough carpenter, about 35 years of age, able-bodied and warranted sound; can do plantation work if required, and is in every respect a very useful hand. Gentlemen, what will you give me for the rough carpenter? will nobody give me a bid for Billy?"—"350 dollars," by a voice from the crowd.—Auctioneer: "No more than 350 dollars for this valuable hand! Well gentlemen, going for 350." 400, 410, 420, and 425, were successively bid.—Auctioneer: "Going at 425 dollars; I have many niggers to dispose of Gentlemen and cannot dwell; once, twice, three times—gone at 425 dollars." Buyer, James Grant, a negro trader from New Orleans.—Auctioneer: "The next nigger for sale, gentlemen, is Ponto! Come, Ponto, stand up here and tell the Gentlemen what you can do." Ponto murmured something, with which the Auctioneer seemed not very well pleased, who, turning from him, said—"Gentlemen, what will you give me for Ponto? a good field hand, thirty-two years of age, and"—here the negro interrupted the auctioneer by calling out—"Gentlemen, I is rising forty"—Auctioneer—"He is described in the bill of sale, gentlemen, as thirty-two years of age, which I presume is correct."—Negro—"Why, Gentleman, I has lived with Mr. Gordon rising twenty-one years, and when he bought me I was a heap better man than I is now!"—Auctioneer—"Well, well, Gentlemen you see the nigger before you: he is described as being thirty-two years of age; he says he is forty; it is for you to judge which of the two is correct; at any rate he is a very valuable nigger—a first-rate plantation hand, strong and able-bodied." Here the negro interrupted him again, with the following address:—"Gentlemen, I is not able-bodied; for in the first place, I is troubled with sickness; and, in the next place, I has got a wen on my right shoulder as big as an Irish potatoe!" This address silenced the bidders, and the auctioneer observed, "Gentlemen, you see this fellow does not want to be sold; however, I shall find a master for him; for the present we shall be under the necessity of passing him by." He was then ordered to stand down and Jacob was ordered up in his place. Auctioneer: "Now, gentlemen, I am about to offer you one of the most valuable niggers in the city of Richmond; he is an excellent tanner and carrier—the first of that profession I ever had for sale; he is an active likely nigger, about 35 years of age, and bears an excellent character for honesty, sobriety, industry, and ingenuity. Now, gentlemen, I anticipate a very high bidding for this most valuable servant; come, gentlemen, what will you give me for Jacob the tanner?" A bidder: "Four hundred dollars." Auctioneer: "Four hundred dollars only for the tanner and carrier! why, gentlemen, he would hire for two hundred a-year."—Mr. Grant, the negro trader: "Jacob, are you willing to leave Richmond?" Jacob: "No." I observed after this that Mr. Grant never bid for him; he was knocked down at 530 dollars to an inhabitant of this neighbourhood. The next lot was a family, a man, a woman, and their two small children, whom the auctioneer said he was instructed not to separate; they sold together for 840 dollars to a citizen of Petersburg. The selling of this "lot" occupied near half an hour, the auctioneer appearing exceedingly unwilling to dispose of them at that price. After this I left the sale for some time, and on my return I found it had just closed, and the auctioneer was informing the assembly that there were about thirty more negroes, male and female, belonging to this estate, which would be sold by private contract; with the privilege of choosing their own masters." The choosing their own masters (a privilege not often given) is rather a negative than a positive choice; it is the liberty of determining who they will not go to. Thus public notice is given that such a negro is for sale, a person wishing to purchase sends for the negro, and asks him if he is willing to be sold to him; if he answers in the affirmative, application is made to the seller, and probably the bargain is closed. If the answer be in the negative, no further steps are taken. This is called the "liberty of choosing his own master." In the hiring out negroes by the year, the privilege of choosing their employers is generally given *i. e.* negatively as above. Negroes sold at auction are generally the property of persons deceased, or who have failed in business: under other circumstances the sale of negroes is not common; for, being considered rather discreditable, it is

\* The potatoes in Britain are invariably called Irish potatoes.

generally the last description of property a man will dispose of. If a person, hitherto in good repute, should sell one of his "niggers" (unless it be for some great fault), it is immediately suspected that his circumstances are on the wane. Negroes are considered not only as belonging to, but in some measure as forming part of the family: when a man dies he divides his negroes among his children; each of these divisions again go on increasing, probably in geometrical progression, till by the marriage or death of their owner's family other divisions take place; and so on, perhaps, through several generations. Should a pretty mulatto woman be offered at a public auction, the sale is generally well attended by bachelors, by one of whom she is usually purchased, and taken into keeping.

**Neapolitan Submission,**

[The following verses are from the *Morning Chronicle*. That fact and the date affixed to them might indicate the ardent patriot and elegant poet from whose pen they emanate, if the fine spirit and flowing style did not preclude all doubts as to the author:—]

LINES WRITTEN ON HEARING THAT THE AUSTRIANS HAD ENTERED NAPLES.

*Carbone notati!*

I.

Aye—down to the dust with them, slaves as they are—  
From this hour, let the blood in their dastardly veins,  
That shrunk at the first touch of Liberty's war,  
Be suck'd out by tyrants, or stagnate in chains!

II.

On, on, like a cloud, thro' their beautiful vales,  
Ye locusts of tyranny, blasting them o'er—  
Fill, fill up their wide sunny waters, ye sails  
From each slave-mart of Europe, and poison their shore—

III.

May their fate be a mock-word—may men of all lands  
Laugh out, with a scorn that shall ring to the poles,  
When each sword, that the cowards let fall from their hands,  
Shall be forg'd into fetters to enter their souls!—

IV.

And deep, and more deep, as the iron is driv'n,  
Base slaves! may the weight of their agony be  
To think—as the damn'd haply think of that heav'n  
They had once in their reach—that they *might* have been free!

V.

Shame, shame—when there was not a bosom, whose heat  
Ever rose o'er the zero of C—en's heart,  
That did not, like echo, your war-hymn repeat,  
And send all its pray'rs with your Liberty's start—

VI.

When the world stood in hope—when a spirit, that breath'd  
Full fresh of the olden-time, whisper'd about,  
And the swords of all Italy, half-way unsheath'd,  
But waited one conquering cry to flash out!—

VII.

When around you, the shades of your mighty in fame,  
FELICJAS and PETRARCHS seem'd bursting to view,  
And their words and their warnings—like tongues of bright flame,  
Over Freedom's apostles—fell kindling on you!—

VIII.

Good God! that, in such a proud moment of life,  
Worth ages of hist'ry—when, had you but hurl'd  
One bolt at your bloody invader, that strife  
Between freemen and tyrants had spread thro' the world—

IX.

That then oh! disgrace upon manhood—e'en then,  
You should falter—should cling to your pitiful breath,  
Cower down into beasts, when you might have stood men,  
And prefer the slave's life of damnation to death!

X.

It is strange—it is dreadful!—Shout Tyranny, shout  
Through your dungeons and places, "Freedom is o'er"—  
If there lingers one spark of her light, tread it out,  
And return to your empire of darkness once more.

XI.

For, if such are the braggarts that claim to be free,  
Come, Despot of Russia, thy feet let me kiss—  
Far nobler to live the brute bond-man of thee,  
Than to sully e'en chains by a struggle like this.

*Champs Elysees, Paris.*

T. B—